

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFO

April 26, 1972

HAK

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~PETER RODMAN~~

FROM:

Helmut Sonnenfeldt

SUBJECT:

Le Monde Article on
European Community

I find the attached article from the April 22 issue of The Manchester Guardian/LeMonde an imaginative political analysis of the problems confronting the European Community's efforts to make its political weight felt. It may therefore be of interest to Henry. I recommend that you forward it to him.

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THE ENLARGED EEC

**HOW TO INFLUENCE
THE WORLD**

Leaders of tomorrow's ten-nation Europe are talking which the new community in world affairs. There is no doubt that the day will come when European nations, along with others perhaps, will break the Soviet, American, and Chinese monopoly in this regard.

A formidable industrial apparatus, a population pushing the 300 million mark, an illustrious civilisation — all these well-known factors nudge it towards this end. In addition, the new community brings together, after history had separated them for so long, the only two European States which have existed for more than a thousand years and whose influence is still felt by many peoples abroad: England and France.

Yet, lofty and necessary as Europe's ambition is, it should be recognised that for the moment this is based more on potentialities than on realities. The enlarged community was nearly a fact when the Bengal war saw India battling with Pakistan — both members of the Commonwealth. Neither British Foreign Office initiatives nor actions by any other European Government influenced these events: they were settled among Moscow, Washington, and Peking.

As for the Middle East, the concerted action to which the European community and Britain attach so much importance is promising enough, but is incapable of leaving a European imprint on a region where the French, British, and to a lesser extent, Germans and Italians, had long held a dominant position.

Without underestimating market action in Africa or in the whole of the Third World, it should be admitted that even a ten-nation EEC has little influence on the course of world events. This Europe has the stature of a political dwarf, in an age of nation-continent, because its strength is thinly spread out and it does not speak with one voice. The situation will change only if Europe gradually coordinates its initiatives on both the domestic and foreign fronts, pools all its resources, and creates a systematised European power.

One cannot, however, ignore the fact that in this area it is necessary to move from the known to the unknown. By graduating from the Coal and Steel Community to the Common Market, the six-nation Europe considerably extended the field for integration, switched the community capital from Luxembourg to Brussels, but continued to hoe a familiar economic furrow. It created new material communities, but pursued its development without changing methods.

Arising alongside an economic Europe with Brussels as its capital is another Europe plainly dictated to a political and international vocation, but for which a capital, institutions, work methods, and goals have yet to be found.

Enlargement on this scale does not, per se, solve anything. All it means for the moment is that four new members have accepted what already exists among their six predecessors. That is only a starting point, not a goal. Going any further would entail completing the Treaty of Rome and signing treaties later. If

Europeans want to have their voices heard elsewhere they need an extra dash of unity in Europe itself. That is why the new builders are ready to take over from those of the '50s.

Consequently, lengthy negotiations must be expected, negotiations which will be complicated, judging by the ones that preceded them. Then with Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Ireland effective members of the community organisations from January 1, 1973, new problems of adaptation are going to come up. Work on constructing the monetary and economic union must be completed, and pooled activities developed in science, space technology, transport, and culture.

With all this yet to be done, it would be putting the cart before the horse to lead people to believe that an enlarged Europe could, by virtue of its joint statistics and common ambitions, exercise a greater influence on the world scene in the near future.

History lessons

Europe-builders of this decade should take a tip from the history of Western national entities. It is a history which illuminates — sometimes successively, sometimes simultaneously — the determination to be independent (the United States), the cohesion resulting from external threat (Switzerland), the part played by a few great men like Bismarck and Cavour.

But this same history offers precious few examples of awarding preference, at opportune moments, to domestic tasks over vast foreign ambitions: England's Edward I, France's Louis XI, and especially Frederick William, the Great Elector, who prepared the way for the birth of Prussia by unifying the administration of Brandenburg, and by levying a standardised tax and raising an army.

Not the least of Europe's difficulties, but worth overcoming for all that, will be to retain from the past only that which makes for democracy, peace, and wisdom. The principal States of the future community may well, through pressure of circumstances, give up trying to seek greatness separately; but what certainty is

there that some of them will not nationalistic ambitions, or for ganging up in twos or threes to corner a privileged position in running the community?

As soon as the first summit of the Ten was set for the autumn, the British Government proposed that it should be held in London. When Paris was finally picked as the site, Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany is said to have expressed the wish — unfulfilled — to preside at the meeting.

President Pompidou is certainly showing a great deal of consideration for smaller nations: last year he went to Belgium and earlier this month he had talks with Pierre Graber, the head of foreign affairs in Switzerland's Political Council. Early next month he is going on an official visit to Luxembourg, and in June, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands will make a State visit to France. Despite all of this, the odd question continues to be interjected as to what M. Pompidou has up his sleeve when he presents the people of France with the construction of Europe as a "national ambition."

An attempt to set up a condominium of several "big" States in the community would be just as disastrous for Europe as a resurgence of nationalism. The construction of a six-nation Europe had to be, in the beginning, centred on a Franco-German nucleus, because at the time everything depended on a reconciliation across the Rhine. But the entry of the British, rather weakened during the last few years, makes such a system inconceivable and impractical for the future.

A Franco-British tie-up would be equally irritating to Germany, rendering coexistence in the community difficult. The same goes for a three-way link-up between France, West Germany, and Britain, or even a four-headed directorate including Italy, which would quickly run up against a league of the other partners.

Living together in the future multinational system will be advantageous only if each country can express itself within the framework of rules which apply to all. It is only by tackling this basic problem and resolving it that Europeans will be able to impress the world and make it listen.

UNCTAD: plea for an 'intuitive'

By PIERRE DROUIN

practices and principles to clear the way for the long-awaited dawn.

The day the trade-not-aid formula was thought up, the Western nations really thought they had found their particular road to Damascus. But despite the effort made over the past eight years, the Third World's share of international trade continues to diminish, and this when 80 per cent of the production of poor countries is accounted for by raw materials.

Facilitating exports is clearly a positive step—in the short term—since they represent a substantial part of

It promised to be one of the most colourful UNCTAD conferences imaginable. The third United Nations Conference for Trade and Development, which opened in Santiago, Chile, on April 13, grouped Russians and Chinese, rich and poor, planners and free-growth advocates.

The previous meetings did not live up to the Third World's expectations and, firmly attached as it was to traditional formulas, it was doubtful that this one would be more fruitful. It would have been a positive step if this assembly of experts from all over the world had at least lifted the veil on the whole series of neo-colonial